

mins (*la culture des ruines*), and prayers are to be their lot, while those who may be less inclined to lead a dreamy existence, may easily find a field for that ambition in the surrounding Italian States. If Napoleon has such schemes for the future of Parma and of Rome, his views will be most heartily supported in the Congress by England and Russia, by Sweden, Prussia and Sardinia.

The agitation for German unity has come to an end, for want of sympathy in the North, and by the south, for want of sympathy in the South, which has no aversion to Prussia. The confederacy of Baden still excites the jealousy of the Grand Duke, but it is not probable that the opposition will have any result, much more serious than the agitation in the Austrian dominions. In Hungary, the Protestants defy the orders of the Minister, Count Thun, and continue to hold their meetings to protest against the Imperial decree for the organization of the Protestant Churches; the Ministers, on the other hand, instigate criminal prosecutions against those who take part in these meetings. The Roman Catholic Priests and Bishops are likewise opposed to the centralizing and generalizing endeavors of the Cabinet; all the country waits only for a good opportunity for enforcing its claims by a general rising, which, however, will not take place during peace, but only when a war shall once more threaten the empire, or a revolution again shake Europe. In Bohemia, and the so-called hereditary provinces, the aristocracy and landed gentry are opposing the habsburgian system of centralizing functionaries. The landed interest feels its importance, and wishes to have some influence in the Government, while Emperor stubbornly opposes any reform, unless he can silence the complaints of his subjects by severity. Such a system cannot last long.

#### AFFAIRS IN FRANCE.

From Our Own Correspondent.

PARIS, December 23, 1860.

*Le Pape à la Congrès*, is the title of a pamphlet published only an hour ago. It has been greatly remodeled about for the past week; it was supposed to be another Imperial manifesto, written by the Napoleonic inspired pen of La Guerrière.

It is apparently the work of a devout churchman, one of the majority of French bishops which took no part in the famous protesting movement led by Bishop Dupanloup's two celebrated pastorals. It contains nothing to contradict the report, however, that it was submitted to the Emperor and retouched a little by his elegant penholder just named. I have not now (5 p.m.) time to give a complete analysis of its contents. Its most important propositions are these: The temporal power of the Pope must be maintained for the sake of religion and European order; the extent of territory is altogether separate from the principle of sovereignty; it is essential that it include Rome; beyond the Eternal City the question of limits is not essential; his government being strictly paternal it were, perhaps, better that it rule over a small population; this people should have no army, no press, no National Legislature; its public life should be centered solely in its Municipal organizations; but, in return, it should, among other benefits, enjoy exemption from taxation; the Papal budget should be made up by contributions from all the Catholic Powers; the tranquillity and inviolability of the Holy See and the dignity of the President of the Italian Confederation must be guarded by a selected corps chosen from the Federal army; as much national liberty as possible must be granted for the double purpose of relieving the Pontifical Government from administrative details, and indemnifying the people by a "local public life" for their loss of political life; under these circumstances it is not desirable even that the Romagna should be forced back under Pontifical sway—and force alone would bring them back. "The Emperor of the French," who has constantly defended the rights of the Holy See, has used all his moral authority to appease the spirits of Central Italy, and conciliate the people with their former governments. He has not been able to succeed, and his influence has failed before the impossible."

This is significant, if, as is said with some show of likelihood, Napoleon overlooked and approved this pamphlet in MS. Again I quote: "The question is not to diminish the patrimony of St. Peter, but to save it." And again, speaking of the competence of the Congress, and of the Congress alone, to intervene in and settle authoritatively the Roman question: "As to the special objection of certain persons that the majority of the great Powers being schismatics, they are consequently incompetent to take from the Pope one of his Provinces, we answer: Since these same Powers gave them to the Pope in 1815, they certainly had a right to examine the question whether or not they can leave them to him in 1860."

The arguments by which the author supports his proposition are less important than the propositions themselves, and with the two specimens just quoted I omit them. The significance of either, which is the main thing, depends in this case not on their intrinsic political or logical merit. How far do the propositions of limiting the Pope's sovereignty to a territory entirely this side the Apennines, not to say by a narrow circle drawn about the City of Rome, and of renouncing all further attempt at restoration of the "former sovereigns" of Central Italy, represent Napoleon's ideas? That is the question. Judge ye. I would rather the pamphlet had come from Guerrière's inspired pen. But a Bishop, as Eudice says of weak vessels for husbands, is "better 'n nuffin."

There is much talk about, the Congress, which amounts to about the like sum of value as talk about the weather next month. It is now regarded as certain that Gorchakov will sit for Russia, notwithstanding the absence from the assembly of the English Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary as first representative. It is not necessary to give the list of the other members, which is now made out complete, or nearly so—by the newspapers. The first member from Naples deserves a word, however; it is the Marquis Antonini and it is *deaf!* So thoroughly characteristic, Naples, by the way, is on the eve of the second great reform of the new reign. The first was a police regulation for—well, it is difficult to set it down in writing; enough to say that the purpose of it was similar to that aimed at in the erection of the small circular edifice in the rear of your City Hall! at New-York. This reform was effected by the Filangieri Ministry, and the only one, so far as I can learn, which has been effected by or under it. The coming reform is to be a change for the better in the management of the San Carlo. The impulse to it was given the other night by—majesty itself, majesty being much offended by the bad singing, bad acting, bad putting on the stage, &c., of an opera he listened to there. That is really the best that can be said for Naples. As for the amnesty obtained through the representations of Lord Elliot, it is only "recognized in principle," not decreed. And even if it were decreed! Why there are men in Neapolitan prisons to-day who were pardoned out by that wretched King Bomba, more than a year ago. Meantime, awaiting the putting in practice of the "principle," Government is almost daily increasing the numbers of those who are to benefit by the future amnesty.

But not all Italian news is bad. The best, if true, is that the Tuscan government has given an order to one of the best manufacturers of Europe for twenty thousand rifle-barreled guns of the most improved sort. Foolish shrewd people, who cannot understand Garibaldi's straightforward character, nor the wisdom of his simple practical notions of Italian policy, were getting to believe the story of his having had an interview with the dowager Empress of Russia, who is now at Nice, and of having pronounced in favor of a young prince of Leuchtenberg as king of Central Italy. He denies both assertions in a public letter, and adds his urgent advice to the Italians to accept no sovereign but Victor Emanuel, and if any one tries in any way to prevent them from following this advice, "let them," he says, "have recourse to the million guns, and the only antidote to such unpatriotic whims, and the infallible means of obtaining the accomplishment of their wishes, and of not being duped"—"*et c'est pas pris à la gloire*, is the more apt expression of the original French, in which the letter was written; say "of not being caught by French professors of friendship, and schemes of Italian confederation, and Congressional revolutions, and other such Napoleonic and diplomatic bird-

s.

APPROPOS OF HUMBUGS, they say that Herr Baumhaufer has resigned his office as Minister of Electoral Hesse, near the Court of Tuileries, declaring that he can't live here on 6,000 yearly thalers, and that reminds me of the Persian Ambassador who represents here and at London at "onece," which reminds me to suggest that our next Plenipotentiary representative in a public letter, and adds his urgent advice to the Italians to accept no sovereign but Victor Emanuel, and if any one tries in any way to prevent them from following this advice, "let them," he says, "have recourse to the million guns, and the only antidote to such unpatriotic whims, and the infallible means of obtaining the accomplishment of their wishes, and of not being duped"—"*et c'est pas pris à la gloire*, is the more apt expression of the original French, in which the letter was written; say "of not being caught by French professors of friendship, and schemes of Italian confederation, and Congressional revolutions, and other such Napoleonic and diplomatic bird-

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NAPOLEON'S LAST MANIFESTO.

From an Occasional Correspondent.

PARIS, Dec. 21, 1859.

The impression produced here by Louis Bonaparte's latest *coup de tête*—I speak of the pamphlet, "The Pope and the Congress," published by La Guerrière, the responsible undertaker of his master's political "studie"—is quite the reverse of

what our good evangelical friends over the other side of the channel may be inclined to suppose. The rage of the clerical party aroused, of course, the Voltaireans Paris *épicier* who regards with an intense delight the Imperialist dissolving views, first exhibiting the Pope before all Europe in the shape of the quasi chief of the intended Italian Confederation, in order to change him afterward into a sort of half-pay officer. But still the delighted epicer himself shakes his head knowingly, and considers that things are drawing to a crisis. If the Man of December, it is said, dares to provoke the "roses célestes" of the clerical party, he does so from necessity, not from choice. He plays out this card because he has hardly anything to lose. The Second Empire was reared upon the broad shoulders of the French peasantry, whose golden age is blended with the First Empire. It was the peasantry whose votes converted the nearly gauntlet of St. James street into the lucky innate of the *Elysée Bourbon*. Now, after the establishment of the Second Empire, the usurper had only two courses open to himself in regard to those true pillars of his régime, the French peasants. Either he must mend their material condition, or compress their mental powers. Taxation was to be lessened, or superstition to be increased. Peccets were to be filled, or misfits to be empited. For the latter process Louis Bonaparte provided altogether on the Catholic Church, which offered the more willingly to march with him as he made concessions unsurpassed even in the time of the Restoration and the *droits des hommes*.

Prince Jerome is better in health, to the great contentment of the Parisians, who are strongly attached by their pleasures and pure-string to his royal life; for were he dead, then were gauches of the Court and upper circles dead, which would be, in the first place, a grave loss of amusement to the indwellers of those circles, and in the second place, a greater loss of business, profit, and means of livelihood to pit and gallery, the indwellers of shops and garrets, the numberless fabricants and furnishers, whom the Winter festivities of the dress circles set to making and selling all sorts of things—silk dresses, false calves, jewelry, ices, furs, &c., &c.

We are not yet quite done talking yet that Léonine trial. The young woman is now in Paris, to be put in a convent till she is twenty-one. Her legal counsel has received numerous proposals for her hand—five on the very day of her acquittal. This is not an eccentricity of human nature. There seems to be a class of men for which certain crimes have an attraction, as dimples or graceful accomplishments have for sounder tastes.

The report of a second duel between Gallifet and Lauriston, which I think I mentioned in my last, was erroneous. The will of both parties was good enough, but some of the Marquis of Gallifet's friends got him packed off again to his regiment by order from high quarters. He serves in the 2d Dragoon Regt., however, that it was submitted to the Emperor and retouched a little by his elegant penholder just named. I have not now (5 p.m.) time to give a complete analysis of its contents.

Its most important propositions are these: The temporal power must be maintained for the sake of religion and European order; the extent of territory is altogether separate from the principle of sovereignty; it is essential that it include Rome;

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